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Interviews: 2106 adults
Dates: December 3-6, 1998

48 Male
52 Female
[109]

FINAL

Study #4094
NBC/Wall Street Journal
December 1998

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise noted.

- 1a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	12/98	10/98+	9/98	7/98	6/98	4/98	2/98	1/98	12/97	High	Low	[145]
										2/91+	7/92+	
Right direction.....	47	55	51	45	45	50	53	47	48	65	14	
Wrong track.....	38	31	35	39	39	35	32	34	35	22	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	12	12	11	13	13	12	12	16	13	9	9	
Not sure.....	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	6	

+ Asked only of registered voters

- 2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	12/98	10/98+	9/98	7/98	6/98	4/98	2/98	1/98	12/97	High	Low	[152]
										10/98+	6/93	
Approve.....	65	68	66	64	63	66	66	62	59	68	41	
Disapprove.....	31	29	31	30	30	29	28	30	33	29	50	
Not sure.....	4	3	3	6	7	5	6	8	8	3	9	

+ Asked only of registered voters

- 2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	12/98 *	10/98+	9/98	7/98	6/98	4/98	2/98	1/98	12/97	High	Low	[153]
										4/98	7/93	
Approve.....	72	74	75	69	70	76	76	65	64	76	40	40
Disapprove.....	21	21	19	23	22	16	17	25	27	16	51	51
Not sure.....	7	5	6	8	8	8	7	10	9	8	9	9

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	12/98 **	10/98+	9/98	7/98	6/98	4/98	2/98	1/98	12/97	High	Low	[154]
										10/98+	9/94	
Approve.....	61	70	63	58	53	63	61	54	52	70	32	
Disapprove.....	30	26	29	31	36	27	31	34	38	26	60	
Not sure.....	9	4	8	11	11	10	8	12	10	4	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).
+ Asked only of registered voters.

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							[155/161]
December 1998.....	25	26	13	10	26	-	
October 1998+.....	25	26	10	12	26	1	
September 1998.....	18	22	17	14	29	-	
July 1998.....	24	26	17	15	18	-	
June 1998.....	24	30	14	12	20	-	
April 1998.....	27	29	13	11	19	1	
April 2, 1998.....	23	21	20	13	22	1	
February 1998.....	29	28	14	12	17	-	
January 17-19, 1998.....	21	36	15	13	15	-	
December 1997.....	21	34	16	13	15	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-	
Al Gore							[156]
December 1998 *	17	25	27	13	15	3	
September 1998.....	16	25	32	12	13	2	
July 1998.....	16	26	31	12	13	2	
June 1998.....	18	26	31	10	13	2	
April 1998.....	16	29	29	12	11	3	
February 1998.....	18	29	27	12	11	3	
January 1998.....	13	26	29	16	12	4	
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Q.3. (*cont'd*)

	<u>Very Positiv e</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
The Republican Party							[157]
December 1998 *	10	23	26	21	18	2	
October 1998+	13	24	22	21	19	1	
September 1998	14	27	29	15	14	1	
April 1998	10	27	30	18	13	2	
January 1998	9	29	30	18	12	2	
December 1997	9	27	30	19	13	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1995	17	33	25	13	9	3	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1997	11	25	29	20	13	2	
Ted Turner							[158]
December 1998 *	8	19	35	9	9	20	
Alan Greenspan							[159]
December 1998 *	23	24	23	4	2	24	
Jesse Ventura							[160]
December 1998 *	11	16	27	5	4	37	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[162]
December 1998 **	33	21	17	11	17	1	
October 1998+	32	24	15	12	16	1	
September 1998	29	21	20	12	18	-	
July 1998	22	24	25	13	14	2	
June 1998	26	22	21	11	19	1	
April 1998	26	25	19	13	16	1	
February 1998	27	25	19	11	17	1	
January 17-19, 1998	20	25	21	16	16	2	
December 1997	18	26	23	14	17	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993	27	30	21	8	8	6	
<i>Low</i>							
May 1996+	14	20	19	17	27	3	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Q.3. (*cont'd*)

	<u>Very Positiv e</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
The Democratic Party							[163]
December 1998 **.....	18	28	25	16	11	2	
October 1998+.....	13	29	28	16	12	2	
September 1998.....	15	25	33	17	9	1	
April 1998.....	15	27	29	15	12	2	
January 1998.....	13	30	30	16	9	2	
December 1997.....	14	31	25	16	12	2	
<i>High</i>							
October 20-21, 1992+.....	19	29	22	15	12	3	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1994.....	10	23	25	24	16	2	
Bob Livingston							[164]
December 1998 **.....	3	11	27	4	3	52	
Kenneth Starr							[165]
December 1998 **.....	14	16	15	14	36	5	
October 1998+.....	12	14	15	16	40	3	
September 1998.....	12	13	23	16	33	3	
July 1998.....	10	13	18	14	36	9	
June 1998.....	9	11	21	16	33	10	
April 1998.....	7	11	20	15	33	14	
February 1998.....	7	13	20	15	26	19	
February 7, 1998.....	7	12	21	15	24	21	
January 31, 1998.....	8	10	25	11	22	24	
January 24, 1998.....	8	12	22	11	14	33	
Texas Governor George W. Bush							[166]
December 1998 **	25	28	27	5	4	11	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

4. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	12/98	10/98+	9/98	7/98	6/98	4/98	2/98	1/98	12/97	High	Low
										9/98	10/90+
Approve.....	44	48	61	53	48	51	57	47	46	61	22
Disapprove.....	42	39	28	31	37	34	29	32	40	28	69
Not sure.....	14	13	11	16	15	15	14	21	14	11	9

+ Asked only of registered voters

5. I'd like to read you a list of legislative priorities. Please tell me which one you feel is the most important issue for the next Congress to address.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Reforming Social Security.....	28	[180]
Providing funds for more schools.....	25	
Cutting taxes.....	15	
Ending late-term abortions.....	11	
Passing a patients' bill of rights.....	7	
Raising the minimum wage.....	7	
All equally important (VOL).....	5	
None important (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

6. How confident are you that Social Security still will be providing retirement benefits when you reach retirement age? Would you say that you are completely confident, very confident, just somewhat confident, or not confident at all?

Completely confident.....	12	[208]
Very confident.....	10	
Just somewhat confident.....	31	
Not confident at all.....	43	
Not sure.....	4	

7. Who do you think should take the lead in proposing a solution to the problems with the Social Security system -- President Clinton or the Republican leaders in Congress?

	12/98	4/98	
President Clinton.....	35	33	[209]
Republican leaders in Congress.....	42	39	
Both (VOL).....	16	21	
Not sure.....	7	7	

8. As you may know, without any changes, the Social Security system will have a financial shortfall starting in the year 2029. I'm going to read you a number of reforms that have been proposed to deal with the system, and for each one, I'd like you to tell me whether that is something you strongly favor, mildly favor, mildly oppose, or strongly oppose.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY STRONGLY OR MILDLY FAVOR

	Strongly <u>Favor</u>	Mildly <u>Favor</u>	Mildly <u>Oppose</u>	Strongly <u>Oppose</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Allow workers to take SOME of their Social Security taxes out of the system and invest them on their own **	41	26	10	19	4	[214]
Raise taxes on Social Security benefits for those earning more than seventy-five thousand dollars a year **	38	24	15	21	2	[216]
Allow workers to take ALL of their Social Security taxes out of the system and invest them on their own *	27	20	16	33	4	[213]
Raise Social Security taxes and otherwise keep the system as it is *...	14	23	20	38	5	[210]
Gradually raise the retirement age to seventy **	11	17	19	51	2	[215]
Have the government invest the money that people pay in Social Security taxes in the stock market *...	9	19	20	47	5	[212]
Reduce Social Security benefits *.....	3	7	21	66	3	[211]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

9. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (**IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:**) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (**IF NOT SURE, CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN."**) (**IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:**) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?

Strong Democrat.....	19		[217]
Not very strong Democrat.....	11	Skip to Q.11	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9		
Strictly independent.....	20	Skip to Q.12	
Independent/lean Republican.....	8		
Not very strong Republican.....	10	CONTINUE	
Strong Republican.....	15		
Other.....	6	Skip to Q.12	
Not sure/nothing.....	2		

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS IN Q.9.)

10. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the Republican nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Republican primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	All Republicans						
	12/98	9/98 ¹	4/98	1/98	9/97	7/97	4/97
Texas Governor George Bush...	52	41	40	26	24	20	24
Elizabeth Dole.....	11	10	NA	14	14	15	16
Jack Kemp.....	7	11	NA	16	14	14	17
Dan Quayle.....	7	8	14	6	7	10	9
Steve Forbes.....	6	7	11	10	11	7	8
Pat Buchanan.....	4	4	4	6	4	4	6
Lamar Alexander.....	2	2	3	4	2	5	3
John Ashcroft.....	2	4	3	NA	NA	NA	NA
None/other (VOL).....	2	3	5	-	6	6	5
Not sure.....	7	5	10	13	9	7	9

¹An "NA" indicates that the person was not included in the list of potential candidates for that particular survey. Potential candidates who do not appear on the current list but were included previously and received less than 5% of the vote are included in the percentage for "none/other."

(ASK ONLY OF DEMOCRATS IN Q.9.)

11. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the Democratic nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Democratic primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	All Democrats					
	12/98	9/98 ¹	1/98	9/97	7/97	4/97
Al Gore.....	49	51	45	47	52	56
Bill Bradley.....	12	12	14	13	11	9
Jesse Jackson.....	11	NA	NA	9	9	8
Richard Gephardt.....	7	12	8	7	8	6
Bob Kerrey.....	3	4	4	5	4	4
John Kerry.....	2	3	NA	NA	NA	NA
None/other (VOL).....	7	4	NA	5	7	11
Not sure.....	9	14	29	14	9	6

¹An "NA" indicates that the person was not included in the list of potential candidates for that particular survey. Potential candidates who do not appear on the current list but were included previously and received less than 5% of the vote are included in the percentage for "none/other."

12. If the next election for president were held today, and Al Gore were running as the Democratic candidate and Texas Governor George W. Bush were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

	12/98 *	10/98 +	9/98	4/98	9/97	4/98	
Al Gore.....	40	40	39	41	45	41	[221]
George W. Bush.....	50	48	49	44	39	44	
Neither/other (VOL).....	5	5	5	5	8	5	
Not sure.....	5	7	7	10	8	10	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 13a. How much would you say you know about Al Gore and what he stands for -- a lot, a fair amount, just some, or very little? *

A lot.....	12	[222]
A fair amount.....	38	
Just some.....	26	
Very little.....	23	
Not sure.....	1	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 13b. How much would you say you know about Texas Governor George W. Bush and what he stands for -- a lot, a fair amount, just some, or very little? **

A lot.....	6	[223]
A fair amount.....	24	
Just some.....	26	
Very little.....	43	
Not sure.....	1	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

14. From what you know, do you think the Democratic Party is too extreme, the Republican Party is too extreme, both parties are too extreme, or neither party is too extreme?

	12/98 *	9/97	[224]
The Democratic Party.....	10	21	
The Republican Party.....	25	37	
Both too extreme	34	18	
Neither too extreme	26	19	
Not sure.....	5	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

15. Which party do you think does the best job of representing the interests of average Americans -- the Republicans or the Democrats? **

The Republicans.....	29	[225]
The Democrats.....	48	
Neither (VOL).....	14	
Both (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	5	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Turning to another topic . . .

16. Which statement do you agree with more—

Statement A: for the good of the country, Congress should drop the Clinton/Lewinsky matter, or

Statement B: the President should be treated as any other citizen and be held legally accountable for his actions.

	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98</u>	
Statement A: Congress should drop the matter.....	50	41	[226]
Statement B: The President should be held legally accountable for his actions.....	47	52	
Neither (VOL).....	2	4	
Not sure.....	1	3	

- 17a. Should Congress impeach Bill Clinton and remove him from office?

	<u>12/98 *</u>	<u>10/98</u>	
Yes, should impeach and remove from office.....	28	24	[227]
No, should not impeach and remove from office..	68	71	
Not sure.....	4	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 17b. Now that the House of Representatives hearings on impeachment are nearly completed, let me read you some actions that Congress may take. For each one, please tell me whether that is something you would favor or would oppose. **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY FAVOR

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Pass a resolution to censure the President.....	45	49	6	[229]
Drop the matter without further action.....	44	54	2	[228]
Pass articles of impeachment and send the matter to the Senate for trial.....	36	61	3	[230]
Drop the matter for now with the promise of criminal action when the President is out of office.....	27	70	3	[231]

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 17c. If the U.S. House of Representatives fails to impeach President Clinton and instead censures him for his actions in the Monica Lewinsky matter, do you consider that a severe punishment or a minor rebuke? *

Severe punishment.....	28	[232]
Minor rebuke.....	62	
Not sure.....	10	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 17d. Do you think that a congressional censure of President Clinton for his actions in the Monica Lewinsky matter will or will not affect his legacy and place in history? **

Yes, will affect legacy and place in history.....	66	[233]
No, will not affect legacy and place in history..	30	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 17e. Do you agree or disagree with the suggestion by some in Congress that, in order to receive a congressional censure and avoid impeachment, President Clinton must admit that he lied under oath? *

Agree.....	52	[234]
Disagree.....	39	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 17f. Do you think that 1998 was or was not a good year for (**READ ITEM**): **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY WAS A GOOD YEAR

	Was A <u>Good Year</u>	Was Not A <u>Good Year</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
The American family.....	57	36	7	[237]
The media.....	55	39	6	[238]
Hillary Rodham Clinton.....	19	75	6	[236]
President Clinton.....	14	83	3	[235]

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Now, turning to another topic . . .

- 18a. Do you believe that Iraq will follow through on its promise to fully comply with United Nations inspections for chemical and biological weapons materials? *

Yes, will follow through on its promise to comply.....	8	[239]
No, will not follow through on its promise to comply...	89	
Not sure.....	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 18b. Do you believe President Clinton's warning that the United States will use military force against Iraq if it does not fully comply with United Nations inspections? **

Yes, believe President Clinton's warning.....	66	[240]
No, do not believe President Clinton's warning.....	27	
Not sure.....	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 18c. If Saddam Hussein does not fully comply with United Nations inspections, do you think that the United States should or should not bomb Iraq without further diplomatic negotiations? *

Should bomb Iraq without further diplomatic negotiations.....	59	[241]
Should not bomb Iraq without further diplomatic negotiations.....	33	
Not sure.....	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 18d. From what you know, do you think that the United States should spend more money or spend less money on developing a missile defense system? **

U.S. should spend more money.....	45	[242]
U.S. should not spend more money.....	38	
Keep same level of spending (VOL)....	8	
Not sure.....	9	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economy. . .

- 19a. How satisfied are you with the state of the U.S. economy today--are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the state of the economy?

	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>3/97</u>	<u>12/96</u>	<i>High</i> <u>9/98</u>	<i>Low</i> <u>1/96</u>	[243]
Very satisfied.....	26	27	31	18	13	10	13	9	31	3	
Somewhat satisfied.....	54	55	55	52	52	51	45	51	55	37	
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	13	12	10	20	23	27	27	27	10	38	
Very dissatisfied.....	6	5	3	8	10	10	13	11	3	19	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	

+ Asked only of registered voters

- 19b. How satisfied are you with your own financial situation today--are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with your financial situation?

19c. Let me read you several elements relating to the current economy. For each one, please tell me whether it is an area in which you feel very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied. If this does not apply to you, please just say so.

When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

RESULTS DO NOT REFLECT RESPONSES OF THOSE WHO SAY THE ITEM DOES NOT APPLY TO THEM

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY VERY OR SOMEWHAT SATISFIED

	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Very Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Your current job security						[245]]
December 1998.....	45	33	10	11	1	
December 1997.....	40	38	11	10	1	
September 1997.....	41	37	10	11	1	
June 1997.....	38	36	12	13	1	
March 1997.....	37	40	12	11	-	
December 1996.....	36	38	13	12	1	
September 1996.....	37	39	10	13	1	
June 1996.....	38	37	12	12	1	
March 1996.....	36	37	14	12	1	
January 1996 ¹	30	31	10	10	19	
Your return on personal investment						[252]]
December 1998.....	24	50	15	9	2	
Your opportunities for career advancement						[250]]
December 1998.....	32	40	14	12	2	
December 1997.....	23	40	20	15	2	
September 1997.....	23	38	18	18	3	
June 1997.....	23	41	17	17	2	
March 1997.....	22	37	23	16	2	
December 1996.....	19	46	18	16	1	
September 1996.....	21	39	21	17	2	
June 1996.....	23	37	20	18	2	
March 1996.....	22	39	20	16	3	
January 1996 ¹	16	33	18	12	21	

¹ The January 1996 comparative data does reflect results among all respondents; those who said the item does not apply to them were included in "not sure."

Q.19c. (cont'd.)	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Very Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Current interest rates						[246] 1
December 1998.....	29	40	15	13	3	
December 1997.....	18	43	21	13	5	
September 1997.....	14	43	23	16	4	
June 1997.....	10	46	24	16	4	
March 1997.....	12	44	24	16	4	
December 1996.....	11	44	25	16	4	
September 1996.....	9	45	26	15	5	
June 1996.....	8	41	27	18	6	
March 1996.....	13	43	26	15	3	
January 1996 ¹	11	40	26	15	8	
Your retirement security						[248] 1
December 1998.....	23	39	19	17	2	
December 1997.....	19	37	18	23	3	
September 1997.....	18	34	20	25	3	
June 1997.....	19	35	17	27	2	
March 1997.....	18	31	21	27	3	
December 1996.....	14	38	22	23	3	
September 1996.....	18	38	20	21	3	
June 1996.....	19	34	19	25	3	
March 1996.....	16	36	21	25	2	
January 1996 ¹	16	34	20	25	5	
The rate of inflation						[249] 1
December 1998.....	24	37	20	15	4	
December 1997.....	18	33	22	21	6	
September 1997.....	14	31	26	24	5	
June 1997.....	14	34	23	24	5	
March 1997.....	11	31	27	25	6	
December 1996.....	10	32	31	22	5	
September 1996.....	10	31	28	25	6	
June 1996.....	9	29	29	27	6	
March 1996.....	9	29	30	27	5	
January 1996 ¹	8	26	32	27	7	

¹ The January 1996 comparative data does reflect results among all respondents; those who said the item does not apply to them were included in "not sure."

² Prior to June 1996, the item read "job opportunities in your area".

Q.19c. (cont'd.)	Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Not Sure	
Your income keeping up with the cost of living						[251] 1
December 1998.....	19	39	20	21	1	
December 1997.....	17	34	24	24	1	
September 1997.....	14	37	21	27	1	
June 1997.....	16	36	23	25	-	
March 1997.....	12	35	26	26	1	
December 1996.....	11	37	24	27	1	
September 1996.....	10	38	28	22	2	
June 1996.....	12	34	27	26	1	
March 1996.....	11	38	26	24	1	
January 1996 ¹	11	35	27	25	2	
The amount of money you are saving						[247] 1
December 1998.....	16	33	23	27	1	
December 1997.....	12	32	23	32	1	
September 1997.....	11	28	25	35	1	
June 1997.....	11	28	23	37	1	
March 1997.....	10	30	24	35	1	
December 1996.....	10	31	25	33	1	
September 1996.....	10	31	26	32	1	
June 1996.....	10	31	24	33	2	
March 1996.....	10	31	25	32	2	
January 1996 ¹	8	29	27	33	3	

¹ The January 1996 comparative data does reflect results among all respondents; those who said the item does not apply to them were included in "not sure."

- 19d. Do you think that the strong economy has made everyone better off, or do you think the benefits have mostly gone to the well-to-do?

Has made everyone better off.....	39	[253]
Benefits have mostly gone to the well-to-do....	48	
Some of both (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	6	

- 20a. How would you describe your economic circumstances -- poor or below the poverty line, working class, middle class, upper middle class, or well-to-do?

Poor/below poverty line.....	6		[254]
Working class.....	29	CONTINUE	
Middle class.....	46		
Upper middle class.....	16		
Well-to-do.....	2	Skip to Q.20c	
Not sure/refused.....	1		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY POOR/BELOW POVERTY LINE OR WORKING CLASS IN Q.20a)

20b. What is the likelihood that you will be middle class in the next five to seven years -- very likely, fairly likely, somewhat likely, or not likely at all?

Very likely.....	23	[255]
Fairly likely.....	13	
Somewhat likely.....	26	
Not likely at all.....	34	
Not sure.....	4	

20c. What total family income do you consider to be an upper-income household? *

Less than \$50,000.....	7	[256]
\$50,000-\$74,999.....	23	
\$75,000-\$99,999.....	20	
\$100,000-\$124,999.....	24	
\$125,000-\$149,999.....	4	
\$150,000-\$174,999.....	7	
\$175,000-\$199,999.....	1	
\$200,000 or more.....	6	
Not sure.....	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

20d. What total family income do you consider to be a middle-income household? **

Less than \$30,000.....	5	[257]
\$30,000-\$39,999.....	22	
\$40,000-\$49,999.....	24	
\$50,000-\$74,999.....	35	
\$75,000-\$99,999.....	7	
\$100,000 or more.....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

20e. Would you say that today, at the end of 1998, you are better off financially, worse off, or about the same as you were at the beginning of the year?

	<u>12/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	[258]
Better off.....	38	39	
Worse off.....	11	12	
About the same.....	51	49	
Not sure.....	-	-	

20f. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off than you were four years ago?

	<u>12/98</u> *	<u>6/97</u> ¹	<u>10/96</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>7/96+</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>9/92</u>	
Better off.....	69	59	49	52	48	46	49	47	37	[259]
Worse off.....	18	22	22	22	23	20	25	26	40	
Not sure.....	13	19	29	26	29	34	26	27	23	
		<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>		
		34	38	35	36	39	42	40		
		42	39	43	41	40	39	37		
		24	23	22	23	21	19	23		

+ Asked only of registered voters.

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

¹ Prior to December 1998, the volunteered response "about the same" was recorded separately. For purposes of comparison it is shown combined with "not sure."

20g. Looking ahead four years from now, do you think that you and your family will be better off or worse off than you are now? *

Better off.....	69	[260]
Worse off.....	14	
Not sure.....	17	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

21a. When looking ahead to 1999, do you think that it will be a time of economic expansion for you and your family and an opportunity to move ahead, or do you think that it will be a time to hold back and save because harder times are ahead?

Time of expansion/opportunity.....	32	[261]
Time to hold back/harder times ahead.....	57	
Some of both (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	6	

21b. Do you expect your children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living than your generation? [262]

	<u>12/98**</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>6/96</u>	<u>3/96</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>5/90+</u>
Yes, expect children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living.....	63	63	64	53	52	43	43	41	41	48	49	45	60
No, do not expect children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living.....	31	32	32	42	44	47	47	51	52	46	45	50	37
Not sure.....	6	5	4	5	4	10	10	8	7	6	6	5	3

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

22a. Which one of the following activities is becoming too expensive to be worth it for the average family? *

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY
THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

Going to a professional sports event.....	47	[263]
Going to a theme park.....	20	
Going to see a movie in a movie theater...	8	
Going out to dinner at a nice restaurant....	7	
All (VOL).....	14	
None (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

22b. Which of the following items do you worry is being priced beyond the income of the average family? **

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY
THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

Cost of children's college education...	70	[264]
Cost of a house.....	44	>
Cost of a secure retirement.....	36	
Cost of a car.....	24	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

23a. Now I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one of the following do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? [265]

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>12/98</u> **	<u>1/98</u>	<u>10/97</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>
The U.S. trade deficit.....	21	19	15	10	10	8	9	8	7	8	10	8	8
Federal taxes.....	20	15	20	13	11	12	11	11	11	11	5	5	7
The federal budget deficit.....	19	22	23	32	30	30	27	30	25	28	24	22	21
Unemployment.....	18	21	21	27	30	32	34	35	40	40	46	46	37
Inflation.....	9	7	10	7	9	8	10	6	6	6	6	7	11
Interest rates.....	4	4	3	5	6	3	4	5	2	2	3	2	3
All equally important (VOL).....	6	7	5	4	2	6	3	4	7	4	5	8	10
None is important (VOL).....	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not sure.....	2	4	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	3

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked of only registered voters.

23b. Do you think that the policies of the Republicans or the Democrats will do more to maintain and improve the strong economy, or do you think they are both about the same? *

Policies of the Republicans.....	19	[266]
Policies of the Democrats.....	19	
Both about the same.....	58	
Not sure.....	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

24a. Do you think there will or will not be an economic recession during the next twelve months?

12/98* | 10/98 9/98 12/97 7/97 6/97 4/97 1/97 3/96 12/90 10/90

		+										
Will be an economic recession...	29	24	31	21	22	15	19	23	32	73	66	[267]
Will not be an economic recession.....	57	64	57	65	68	77	70	67	53	19	24	
Not sure.....	14	12	12	14	10	8	11	10	15	8	10	
		9/15-	9/4-									
		<u>18/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>			
		51	58	57	25	30	23	30	31			
		35	30	26	49	57	64	56	56			
		14	12	17	26	13	13	14	13			

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 24b. Do you think there will or will not be an economic recession during the next five years?

	<u>12/98**</u>	<u>6/97</u>	
Will be an economic recession.....	61	66	[268]
Will not be an economic recession.....	29	21	
Not sure.....	10	13	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 24c. If there is an economic recession in the next twelve months, which of the following is likely to happen to you?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Have to cut back on everyday expenses.....	41	[269]
Will not be able to afford the "extras" such as vacations or wardrobe.....	33	>
An economic recession will have no significant effect on the way you live.....	29	
Lose income from overtime/bonuses/commissions.....	16	
Go into debt.....	11	
Will not be able to make house or car payments....	9	
Lose your job.....	7	
Not sure.....	4	

25. In general, are you comfortable or uncomfortable with your ability to manage debt and pay the bills you currently owe?

	<u>12/9</u>	<u>3/91</u>	
	8		
Comfortable.....	83	77	[270]
Uncomfortable.....	13	18	
In between (VOL).....	3	4	
Not sure.....	1	1	

26. I'm going to read you a list of industries that operate in the U.S. For each one, please tell me whether the United States' position is getting stronger, getting weaker, or staying the same compared to industries in foreign countries. **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY U.S. POSITION IS GETTING STRONGER

	<u>U.S. Position Is Getting Stronger</u>	<u>U.S. Position Is Getting Weaker</u>	<u>U.S. Position Is Staying The Same</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The telephone and communications industry....	75	7	13	5	[272]
The computer industry.....	72	8	15	5	[271]
The defense and aerospace industry.....	50	20	20	10	[276]
The automobile industry.....	34	33	28	5	[273]
The consumer electronics industry, such as TV's, radio, and VCR's.....	34	41	21	4	[274]
The clothing industry.....	24	40	27	9	[275]
The steel industry.....	18	43	20	19	[277]

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 27a. Which one of the following do you think is the most responsible for the continued strong economy?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>12/98*</u>	<u>9/98</u>	[278]
Productivity of businesses and workers.....	28	32	
Alan Greenspan and the Federal Reserve.....	18	20	
The Clinton Administration.....	18	16	
The national and international business cycles..	12	14	
The Republican Congress' policies.....	10	8	
None of these (VOL).....	2	1	
All of these (VOL).....	4	3	
Not sure.....	8	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 27b. Now let me read you a number of actions that the federal government could take to keep the U.S. economy moving in the right direction. Please tell me which one or two you think would be most effective.
**** (ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)**

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Cutting taxes for individuals and families.....	41	[279]
Keeping interest rates low.....	27	>
Having fewer government regulations and letting the private sector deal with the economy.....	22	
Increase spending on jobs and education.....	22	
Cutting taxes for businesses and investors.....	16	
Preserving the federal budget surplus.....	12	
All (VOL).....	4	
None/other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 28a. Which one of the following do you think poses the greatest threat to the health of the U.S. economy?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>12/98</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	
Politics between the President and Congress.....	25	16	NA	[280]
The financial crisis in Asia.....	24	27	17	
Big business mergers.....	17	NA	NA	
An increase in inflation.....	13	14	NA	
A decline in the stock market.....	11	15	8	
Unexpected inflation.....	NA	17	11	
All of these (VOL).....	4	5	7	
None of these (VOL).....	1	1	2	
Not sure.....	5	5	5	

- 28b. Do you think that the recent economic problems in Asia will have a major effect on the U.S. economy next year, a minor effect, or will have no effect on the U.S. economy next year?

	<u>12/98*</u>	<u>1/98</u>	
Will have a major effect.....	31	27	[308]
Will have a minor effect.....	57	57	
Will have no effect.....	6	8	
Not sure.....	6	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

29. In general, do you believe that countries in Asia have fair or unfair trade policies toward the United States? *

Have fair trade policies toward the United States.....	16	[309]
Have unfair trade policies toward the United States.....	64	
Not sure.....	20	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 30a. In general, do you believe that countries in Europe have fair or unfair trade policies toward the United States? **

Have fair trade policies toward the United States.....	33	[310]
Have unfair trade policies toward the United States.....	47	
Not sure.....	20	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 30b. Now I am going to read you two statements about foreign trade, and I would like you to tell me which statement best reflects your views on the issue.

Statement A: Foreign trade has been good for the U.S. economy, because demand for U.S. products abroad has resulted in economic growth and jobs for Americans here at home, **OR**

Statement B: Foreign trade has been bad for the U.S. economy, because cheap imports from abroad have hurt wages and cost jobs here at home.

Statement A/foreign trade has been good for U.S. economy.....	32	[311]
Statement B/foreign trade has been bad for the U.S. economy.....	58	
Some of both (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	4	

- 31a. I'm going to read you two statements about economic competitiveness, and I'd like you to tell me which one comes closer to your own point of view.

Statement A: We should rely on the private sector and free enterprise system to promote America's economic competitiveness and ability to deal with foreign competition, and government should NOT get directly involved, **OR**

Statement B: The federal government SHOULD play a direct and active role in working with business to promote America's economic competitiveness and ability to deal with foreign competition. *

Statement A/rely on private sector.....	41	[312]
Statement B/federal government should play role...	49	
Some of both (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 31b. Now I'm going to read you two statements, and I'd like you to tell me which one you agree with more.

Statement A: Some people believe that we should increase the number of immigrants who are let into the country, because they fill a number of jobs that many companies are having trouble filling, **OR**

Statement B: Others believe that we should not increase the number of immigrants who are let in, because they will take jobs that Americans should have and will ultimately result in higher unemployment. Which of these do you agree with more? **

Statement A/should increase the number of immigrants let in.....	20	[313]
Statement B/should not increase the number of immigrants let in.....	72	
Not sure.....	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 31c. Many computer and software companies are experiencing a shortage of trained workers. Do you believe that we should or should not change our immigration policies to allow more people trained in these fields to come into the United States? *

Should change our immigration policies.....	21	[314]
Should not change our immigration policies....	72	
Not sure.....	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

32. For each of the following descriptions I read, please tell me whether that applies to you personally. (READ ITEM) Does that apply to you or not?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY APPLIES

	<u>Applies</u>	<u>Does Not Apply</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks				[316]
December 1998.....	52	45	3	
April 1998.....	48	49	3	
Have a 401K retirement plan				[315]
December 1998.....	47	50	3	
Put money away for children's education				[321]
December 1998 *.....	39	59	2	
Follow the stock market on a daily basis				[320]
December 1998 *.....	32	66	2	
Have at least five thousand dollars in credit card debt				[319]
December 1998.....	22	76	2	
Play the lottery regularly				[322]
December 1998 **.....	16	82	2	
Work a second job				[318]
December 1998.....	12	86	2	
Earn ten percent or more of your wages from overtime pay				[317]
December 1998.....	12	85	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 33a. Do you plan to spend more money on Christmas shopping this year than you did last year, less money, or about the same amount?

	<u>12/98</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>11/30-12/1/87</u>	<u>10/87</u>	
*		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>			
Plan to spend more money.....	14	9	6	10	16	11	[323]
Plan to spend less money.....	30	47	47	46	28	30	
Plan to spend about the same amount of money.....	53	43	46	44	55	58	
Not sure.....	3	1	1	-	1	1	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 33b. How much do you plan to spend on Christmas this year? **

\$250 or less..... 22 [324]

Between \$250 and \$500.....	30	
Between \$500 and \$1,000.....	26	
More than \$1,000.....	18	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

33c. Are you using an on-line service for holiday shopping? *

Yes, using on-line service	9	[325]
No, not using on-line service.....	89	
Not sure.....	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

33d. Are you using a catalogue for holiday shopping? **

Yes, using a catalogue for shopping.....	35	[326]
No, not using a catalogue for shopping.....	63	
Not sure.....	2	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. How old are you? (**IF REFUSED, ASK:**) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	9	[330]
25-29.....	8	
30-34.....	9	
35-39.....	11	
40-44.....	11	
45-49.....	12	
50-54.....	9	
55-59.....	7	
60-64.....	6	
65 and over.....	15	[331]
Refused.....	3	

F2. What is the last grade you completed in school.

Grade school.....	1	[332-333]
Some high school.....	6	
High school graduate.....	29	
Some college, no degree.....	18	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	11	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	19	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work/master's degree...	9	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F3a. Are you currently employed? (**IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:**) What type of work do you do? (**IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:**) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

Professional/manager.....	25	[334-341]
White collar worker.....	23	
Blue collar worker.....	19	

Farmer.....	1
Student.....	2
Homemaker.....	5
Retiree.....	19
Unemployed.....	3
Other/not sure.....	3

(ASK ONLY OF WOMEN.)

F3b. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	32	[342]
Do not work outside the home.....	18	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F4. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think that your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	7	[344]
Somewhat liberal.....	16	
Moderate.....	27	
Somewhat conservative.....	25	
Very conservative.....	12	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	9	
Not sure.....	4	

F5a. Did you happen to vote in the 1996 presidential election? **(IF YES, ASK:)** For whom did you vote -- Bill Clinton, the Democrat, Bob Dole, the Republican, or Ross Perot, the Reform Party candidate?

Yes -- Bill Clinton.....	40	[345]
Yes -- Bob Dole.....	26	
Yes -- Ross Perot.....	6	
Yes -- other (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	4	
No, did not vote.....	19	
Not sure if voted/refused.....	5	

F5b. Did you happen to vote in the 1998 election for U.S. House of Representatives? (IF YES, ASK:) Did you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in your district?

Yes -- Democratic candidate.....	27	[346]
Yes -- Republican candidate.....	27	
Yes -- another candidate (VOL)/not sure/refused....	5	
No, did not vote.....	36	
Not sure if voted.....	5	

F6. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	19	[347]
Married.....	60	
Separated.....	2	
Widowed.....	6	
Divorced.....	10	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F7. Do you have any children under age 18 currently living in your household?

Yes, kids under 18 in household.....	38	[348]
No, no kids under 18 in household.....	59	
Not sure.....	3	

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

<u>Protestant</u>	49	CONTINUE	[349]
Catholic.....	30		
Jewish.....	1		
Other.....	11	Skip to Q.F10	
None.....	5		
Not sure/refused.....	4		

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F8.)

F9. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/evangelical.....	17	[350]
Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	29	
Not sure.....	3	
Non-Protestants (Q.8).....	51	

F10. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	11	[351]
Labor union household.....	6	
Nonunion household.....	80	
Not sure.....	3	

F11. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background? (**IF NO:**) What is your race -- white, black, Asian, or something else?

Hispanic.....	6	[352]
White.....	76	
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, between \$75,000 and \$100,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	5	[353]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	8	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	12	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	12	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	13	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	18	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	10	
More than \$100,000.....	9	
Not sure/refused.....	13	